

Why Speak Quechua? : A Study of Language Attitudes among Native Quechua Speakers in
Lima, Peru.

A Senior Honors Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for graduation
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by

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I. Introduction

According to the U.S. State Department, Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, there are presently 3.2 million Quechua speakers in Peru, which constitute approximately 16.5% of the total Peruvian population. As a result of the existence of a numerically prominent Quechua speaking population, the language is not presently classified as endangered in Peru. The 32 documented dialects of Quechua are considered as part of both an official language of Peru and a “lingua franca” in most regions of the Andes (Sherzer & Urban 1988, Lewis 2009). While the Peruvian government is supportive of the Quechua macrolanguage, “The State promotes the study and the knowledge of indigenous languages” (Article 83 of the Constitutional Assembly of Peru qtd. in Von Gleich 1994), many believe that with the advent of new technology and heavy cultural pressure to learn Spanish, Quechua will begin to fade into obscurity, just as the languages of Aymara and Kura have “lost their potency” in many parts of South America (Amastae 1989). At this point in time, there exists a great deal of data about how Quechua is used in Peru, but there is little data about language attitudes there, and even less about how native Quechua speakers view both their own language and how it relates to the more widely-spoken Spanish. This research investigates the social status and strength of the Quechua language by examining the attitudes of native Quechua speakers who are also fluently bilingual in Spanish. This project uses previous research and frameworks on language endangerment, along with the language attitudes of Quechua/Spanish bilinguals in Peru to assess the present strength of Quechua and to inform a projection of the future linguistic situation between Quechua and Spanish in Peru.

II. Objective

The main objective of this research is to examine some factors that will affect how influential Quechua will continue to be in Peru in the 21st century. It is clear that if the current generation of speakers does not believe that Quechua is important in their everyday lives or the lives of their children, this will have a negative effect on its number of speakers. Also, if speakers feel that there are increasingly fewer useful domains for Quechua, this will contribute to its decline. In "The Politics of Community: Education, Indigenous Rights and Ethnic Mobilization in Peru", Maria Elena Garcia (2003) discusses the fact that many Quechua speakers are anxious for their children to learn eloquent Spanish, because if they do not, they will be nothing more than "campesinos" (peasants). This statement indicates that there still exists a powerful attitude that places Quechua in opposition to the more highly valued Spanish. Also, David Post (1994) discusses this anti-indigenous language attitude as it relates to educational opportunities, in his article "Through a Glass Darkly? Indigeneity, Information, and the Image of the Peruvian University". Post discusses the widely held attitude that; "Because higher education has, in fact, operated using Peru's criollo rather than indigenous peoples, attaining higher education would be more difficult for persons of indigenous background". These attitudes are important to consider, because they can help develop research and programs that may encourage Quechua language use and prevent the language from becoming endangered in the long-term.

III. Current State of the Language

According to official and governmental accounts, Quechua appears to have a strong base of speakers and institutional support in Peru, and thus is not officially endangered according to the Peruvian government (Hornburger & King 2001). There have been many non-profit cultural and educational efforts aimed at preserving Quechua, and the government has funded several public schools in which Quechua is taught as a second language (Hornberger/King 2001). In

modern Peru, classes in Quechua as a second language are also taught at Lima's most prestigious private university, the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, as a form of social science (PCUP Online Course Catalog 2008). Von Gleich (1994) notes that, "In the case of Quechua, we can certainly claim that bilingual education offered in maintenance programs, as they have been operating since the late 1970's in Peru, should in principle have contributed to stabilize the number of Quechua speakers". However, in her extensive and detailed analysis, "Language Spread Policy: The Case of Quechua in the Andean Republics of Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru", the author further outlines the complex linguistic state in Peru and discovers that there exists among Quechua speakers a fatalistic attitude toward the future of their language because of a lack of a cohesive popular ethnic movement for Quechua preservation. The government and non-profit organizations have made progress towards strengthening the language, but these efforts are insignificant if Quechua speakers are not involved in preservation efforts.

Although approximately 3 million people in Peru speak Quechua, the language is culturally marginalized because there exist negative attitudes amongst native speakers towards both their own culture and language and those of the Spanish-speaking majority (Von Gleich 1994). As younger generations migrate to cultural centers such as Lima for educational and professional opportunities, they may face pressure to abandon their linguistic tradition in favor of their assimilation into the Spanish-speaking majority (Ruiz Rosado 2008).

IV. History

In addition to its overall widespread cultural depreciation, Quechua, since the 15th century, has almost always experienced discrimination in the face of a Spanish majority. Religion and culture played a major part in the 'Castilianisation' of indigenous people from the time of the Spanish conquest. As early as 1634, Phillip IV argued that Quechua was an inferior

language to Spanish, at least for religious purposes, “Efficient and successful evangelization requires knowledge of the respective language...not even in the best and most perfect language of the Indians can be explained well and properly the mysteries of Christian faith, only with big diminutions and imperfections (qtd. In Von Gleich 1994). As a result of the strong religious influence of Catholicism and the linguistic superiority of the conquistadores, indigenous languages such as Quechua suffered greatly during this period. This hostile linguistic and cultural takeover only worsened as time progressed:

“A decree from the crown in the second half of the 18th century mandating compulsory Castilianisation of native Americans marked the end of toleration of indigenous languages...Although formal measures to instruct Spanish were generally ineffective, the indigenous population learned the dominant language informally for social survival and acquired it as part of the biological and cultural process of mestisation (Hornberger/King 2001:166-167).

Indigenous people at this time faced a similar quandary to those of today: How can a culture preserve a language when there is overwhelming pressure to assimilate to a new, institutionally approved and encouraged one? In many areas, this proved impossible, and the language survived almost entirely because of the varied geography of Peru, and the fact that the Spanish were beginning to concentrate in larger cities. This phenomenon continues in modern Peru, and in fact, the geography adds to the stigma associated with speaking an indigenous language:

“Quechua continues to be linked strongly linked with the rural, uneducated and poor, while Spanish remains the primary language of national and international communication, literacy and education, and professional, and academic success” (Hornberger/King 167). It is possible that the diverse geography and relative isolation of Quechua may have actually contributed to the

survival of the language. However, at this stage, when globalization and urbanization are taking over rapidly in the world and in Peru, it seems that the language will have difficulty persisting even in small, rural areas, because of the rapid migration away from these small towns in favor of more opportunities in urban centers.

V. Cultural Factors Affecting the Status of Quechua

The endangerment of the language is not only a result of a geographic migration, but also of a cultural one. The mass media of Peru, which is becoming increasingly more like those of Western Europe and the United States, hinders the progression of indigenous languages. Von Gleich (1994) indicates that, “The programs of private TV channels are completely westernized and offer no space for indigenous languages and cultures...there are no regular newspapers or weeklies in Quechua”. The significance of this fact is that if one wants to listen to or read national or international news, it must be done in Spanish, or perhaps even in English. Without access to mass forms of communication, the approximately 1.2 Quechua monolinguals, especially those in rural areas, are kept uninformed and isolated from the rest of Peru and the outside world (Lewis 2009).

In order to further pursue the idea that negative cultural attitudes are limiting factors for Quechua language, it is necessary to utilize some research about languages and bilinguals in general. First, it is important that we absolutely rule out the fact that Quechua is, as the conquistadors believed, in some way inferior to Spanish, it is simply underdeveloped: “What is meant by an ‘undeveloped’ language? Only that it has not been employed in all the functions that a language can perform in a society larger than that of the local tribe or peasant village. The history of languages demonstrates convincingly that there is no such thing as an inherently handicapped language” (Haugen 414). This then, means that although Quechua may lack some

words for new technology and ideas, it is not incapable of developing to include new words for these functions and ideas. This fact then prompts a question: If there are now significantly more Spanish/Quechua bilinguals (2 million) than Quechua monolinguals (1 million), why have the languages not developed in a parallel fashion, with these bilinguals adding new words to both languages as necessary (Lewis 2009)? The answer is that Peru is not a bilingual society, it is one in which Spanish is dominant and continually exerts its power over other languages. It seems that popular opinion dictates that Spanish is simply useful more a wider variety of functions than Quechua (Hornberger/King 168). Also, perhaps this large bilingual population has noticed anti-indigenous language sentiments, and has thus become less likely to add new words to Quechua, when it seems that Spanish is all that is necessary.

Although Peru has millions of Quechua speakers, the concept of language endangerment is worth discussing here because of Peru's long history of discrimination against indigenous languages and negative cultural attitudes towards Quechua.

VI. Frameworks for the Study of Language Endangerment

In the early 1990's, Joshua Fishman formulated a highly-respected framework for discussing endangered at-risk languages: "The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (Fishman, 1990, 1991) is designed to provide a means of assessing the status of a language, the prospects of intergenerational transmission of the language, and, by implication, the level of success of efforts to maintain and revitalize the threatened language" (Hornberger/King 171).

The GIDS categorizes languages by the following stages (Fishman 1990, 1991). Note that Xish here stands for any language and that the scale organizes stages from most endangered (Stage 8) to least endangered (Stage 1).

Stage 8: most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults

Stage 7: most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age

Stage 6: the attainment of intergenerational informality and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement

Stage 5: Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy

Stage 4: Xish in lower education (types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws

Stage 3: use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighborhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen

Stage 2: Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either

Stage 1: some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)

At first glance, it may be tempting to attempt to categorize Quechua as falling into either Stage 1 or Stage 2 of the GIDS due to its existing but limited governmental and educational uses. This, however, proves to be a complicated discussion in Peru because as Hornberger and King point out, Quechua is not presently considered endangered due to its high number of speakers. It is however somewhat culturally endangered not because of a present lack of speakers or a lack of institutional support, but because of wider cultural attitudes that could cause the language to decline rapidly in the next few generations, "It is thus impossible completely and accurately to describe the situation of Quechua, a language spoken by at least eight million people in thousands of communities, in terms of the GIDS or any other framework" (Hornberger/King 172). The question then becomes, how does one evaluate a language that continually faces cultural adversity, yet has thus far persisted for hundreds of years?

The GIDS and similar frameworks proposed by Fishman and others can be useful in that they can provide clues for which factors may affect Quechua endangerment, despite the fact that they cannot be applied to this language situation in their entirety. This study recognizes that some predictive factors present in the GIDS do apply to determining the strength of Quechua; such as intergenerational transmission, speaker feelings toward Quechua and domains of use.

VII. The Domain Dilemma

The issue of cultural pressure is becoming increasingly more serious now, however, because of a loss of useful domains for Quechua: “Spanish has made in-roads into seemingly every speech situation and presently, only what might be traces of former domains are left” (Hornberger/King 168). While Spanish is becoming ever more useful, Quechua is experiencing difficulties in creating new situations for which it is useful. With the advent of new technology, even dominant Spanish is adding an ever-increasing number of English words for new domains, especially those relating to technology. If the world and the necessary uses for language are changing rapidly, Quechua speakers will have to figure out how to make the language useful and appealing in the world of rapid global mass communication.

Lambert (2003) touches on this idea in his analysis of how bilinguals choose which language to utilize in which domain:

“The bilingual can study the reactions of his audiences as he adopts one guise in certain settings and another in different settings, and receive a good deal of social feedback, permitting him to realize that he can be perceived in quite different ways, depending on how he presents himself. It could well be that his own self-concept takes two distinctive forms in the light of such feedback” (313).

It is possible that Quechua has become a victim of a vicious cycle of a decreasing number of useful domains, which in turn causes more social stigma, and vice-versa. One aim of this research is to determine in which domains bilinguals do still feel comfortable using Quechua and why. According to Fishman (1990), if bilinguals still prefer Quechua for some domains of use, this will help to prevent or slow its endangerment.

The domains in which a speaker chooses to speak Quechua may be determined at least partially by the bilingual's level of comfort with the language. William Labov (2003) analyzed domains and style-shifting among bilinguals and concluded that: "When we encounter an individual in one particular domain, at home or in school, we can often tell from the range of style shifting in what domain he uses that language. For example, a first-generation Spanish-English bilingual may use a fairly formal Spanish-learned at school- in interviews, he may use a very colloquial Spanish at home; but in English he may have only a nonstandard dialect which he learned on the streets. A second-generation Spanish speaker may reverse this pattern, with Spanish confined to a very informal pattern used at home" (Labov 2003). This fact may also contribute to a declining use of Quechua. If a bilingual feels more comfortable, for example, discussing academic topics in Spanish because this is what he/she learned through formal education, then it would change the domains in which he would use Quechua. However, Labov (2003) continues that the minority language can still be useful, if there is at least one domain for it: "When the ethnic group still preserves a foreign language for at least one social domain, we find clear traces of it in their English. Some foreign accents have high prestige in the United States-French is the most outstanding example-but usually not if there is a large immigrant group which speaks this language. Even where bilingual speakers use a fairly native English, they are limited in their stylistic range". According to Labov, it would follow that the reverse of this

occurs in Peru. Indigenous languages such as Quechua are generally considered low-prestige, which might entice bilinguals to work to perfect their Spanish style range, and to be opposed to mastering their Quechua, particularly if Quechua had always been used primarily in the home for daily tasks.

This study is designed to find out the domains in which bilinguals use Quechua, their attitudes about its usefulness in professional and social environments, and their attitudes about whether or not they believe that intergenerational transmission of Quechua is important.

According to Fishman (1990, 1991) and Hornberger and King (2001) cultural attitudes and the potential for intergenerational transmission are vital factors in the discussion about the strength of Quechua in Peru. Additionally, Labov (2003) demonstrates that domains of use are another vital factor in the analysis of the strength of any language.

In light of Fishman's framework, this survey attempts to garner information about speaker's use and opinions of 3 domains in particular: social situations, professional situations, and the education of children. Do speakers find Quechua useful in one domain over another, and does their use in each domain correspond to their attitudes about the usefulness of Quechua in general? Finally, because Stage 8 of the GIDS indicates a total lack of intergenerational language transmission, the study also wanted to gain information about how bilinguals feel about teaching Quechua to their children, in order to inform where Quechua may belong on (or off) of the GIDS in the future.

VIII. Methodology

The methodology for this research is based upon several previous linguistic attitude studies. First, I designed a survey (located in Appendix A in its entirety) which included questions designed to gain information about the participants' background, education, and

experience in order to discover if these factors related to identity had a marked effect on their use of and opinions about Quechua.

1. What is your gender?
2. Please list all of the languages that you speak and indicate your level of fluency in each one (Native, Superior, Intermediate, Beginner)
3. What is your level of education?

Primary School
 Secondary School
 Some College
 Bachelor's Degree
 Master's Degree
 Doctorate

4. Please list all places in which you have lived for longer than one year:
5. What is your age?
6. Where are you from?
7. Are your parents bilingual?
 Yes No
 In which languages? _____

My translation of the survey was verified by Professor John Grinstead of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at The Ohio State University. The 25 question survey included 3 questions designed to check the level of fluency of the participants in each language in order to check if their level of bilingualism affected their opinions.

8. On a scale of 1-7, how would you rate your level of fluency in Spanish?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Beginner						Native

9. On a scale of 1-7, how would you rate your level of fluency in Quechua?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Beginner						Native

10. At approximately what age did you begin learning Spanish?

11. At approximately what age did you begin learning Quechua?

All 40 participants rated themselves as possessing native fluency in both languages by answering either 6 or 7 to both Questions 10 and 11, thus this study does not consider the effects of fluency on language attitudes, but this could be a question to investigate in future work.

The survey also contained several questions about domains of language in order to discover where the participants chose to use which language. The first set of domain questions pertain to the respondent's language learning environment as a child and how this may have affected their attitudes as adults.

12. When you were a child, did your parents encourage you to speak one language more than the other?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Encouraged Spanish					Strongly Encouraged Quechua	

13. What language were your elementary classes conducted in?

14. What language/s do you believe elementary classes should be conducted in?

The second set of domain questions inquire about the respondent's use of Quechua in their home and in professional situations, in order to discover in which domains the participants view Quechua as useful or advantageous.

15. How often do you speak Quechua in your home?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never						Daily

16. How often do you speak Quechua with your friends?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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Never

Often

17. Approximately what percentage of your social group speaks primarily Spanish? Quechua? Both?

18. How often do you use Quechua in business/academic life?

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Never

Often

Finally, the last section of the survey asked questions about the advantageousness of being able to speak Quechua in the various domains and also included several open-ended questions designed to discover what participants perceived to be cultural attitudes in Peru towards Spanish and Quechua speakers.

19. Do you believe that speaking Quechua is a disadvantage or an advantage socially?

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Disadvantage

Advantage

20. Do you believe that speaking Quechua is a disadvantage or an advantage academically?

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Disadvantage

Advantage

21. Why?

22. Do you plan to teach Quechua to your children?

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Definitely

Definitely Not

23. Why?

24. What, if any, social attitudes exist about Spanish speakers in general?

25. What, if any, social attitudes exist about Quechua speakers in general?

Essentially, all of the survey questions pertain to either the identity of the respondent, his/her language background and domains of use, and his/her attitudes about the advantageousness of Quechua and intergenerational transmission.

As a university student in Peru, I utilized personal contacts to identify speakers of any Peruvian dialect of Quechua who might be interested in taking part in the research. The majority of my respondents are friends and family members of my acquaintances, from various age groups, educational levels and locations in Peru, which makes for a varied sample. I obtained contact information for potential participants and called or emailed them directly to schedule a time to conduct the survey. I conducted all of the surveys within the city of Lima between April 2008 and July 2008. The surveys were generally administered in a public location or the participant's home in order to ensure that the participants were as comfortable as possible while responding to the survey. Respondents were free to skip any question that they did not want to answer, thus most of my questions have a 100% response rate, but there are a few with lower response rates. The lowest rate for any question was 87.5%, thus I have eliminated non-responses from the data because they were not numerous enough to affect the overall results. Closed questions pertaining to domains of use and attitudes were presented to the participants in Likert scales of 1-7. Finally, there were six participants with whom I was unable to meet in person, thus they answered the survey through an online questionnaire on eSurveysPro.com.

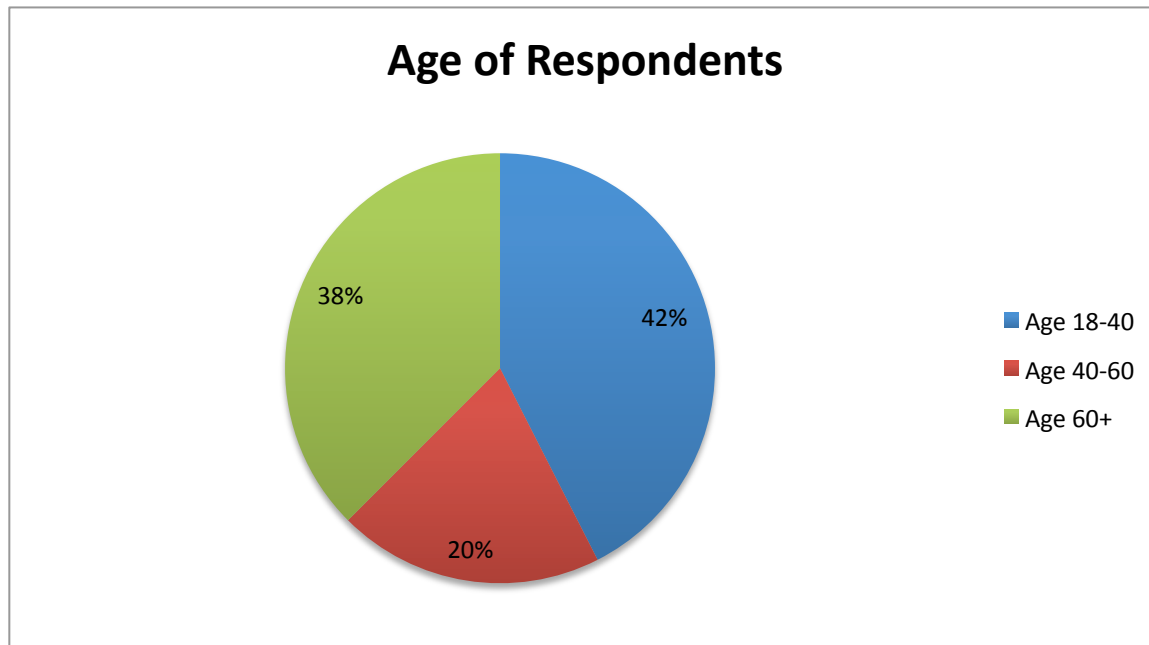
IX. Background Data on Respondents

i. Identity

I administered the survey to 40 Bilingual Spanish/Quechua speakers who had migrated from a more predominately indigenous language speaking region of Peru into the city of Lima. Of these

participants, 16 described themselves as female and 24 described themselves as male.. Of the 40 respondents, 10 were aged 18-30 years, - were aged 30-60 years, and were aged 60+ (Figure 1)

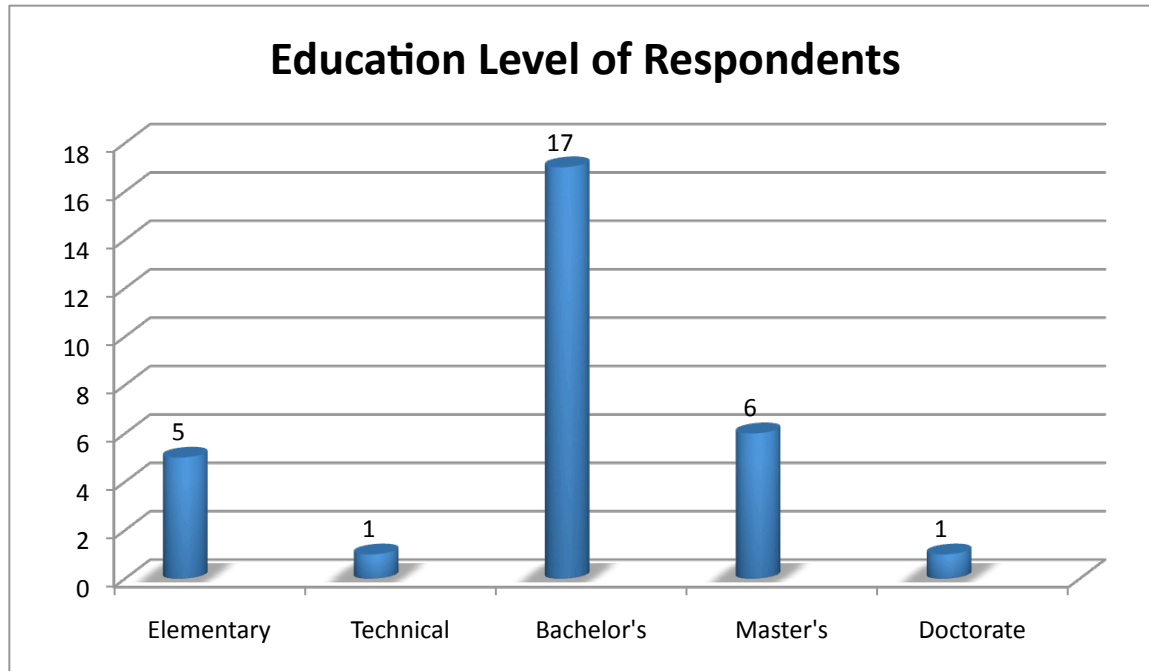
Figure 1



Of these 40 respondents, one had a Doctorate degree, 6 possessed Master's degrees, 17 had completed a Bachelor's, one had a technical education, 10 had a high school education, and 5 had completed only elementary education (Figure 2).

It is important to note that this sample is not representative of the Peruvian population in terms of education. 60% of this sample has a Bachelor's degree or higher, while only 3% of the total Peruvian population achieves that level of education (Holligan de Díaz-Límaco). In the future, it would be desirable to obtain more responses from respondents with more diverse levels of education.

Figure 2



The respondents came from various locations throughout the country of Peru, but all had been born in a predominately indigenous area and later moved to the city of Lima. Cuzco, Apurimac and Abancay (the capital city of the state of Apurimac) were the locations with the most respondents as is evident from figure 3a. Figure 3b is designed to provide context about the languages spoken in these regions.

Figure 3a

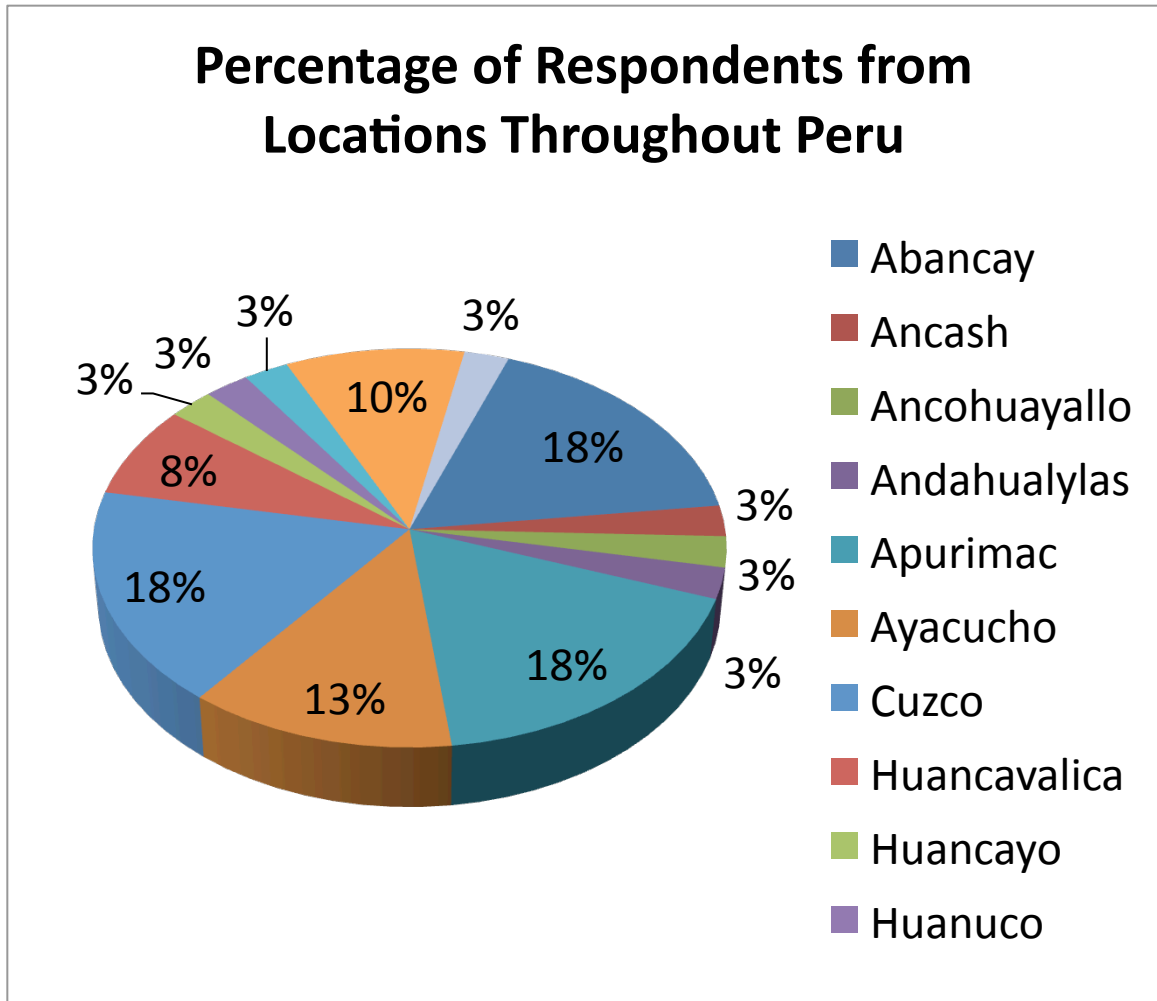
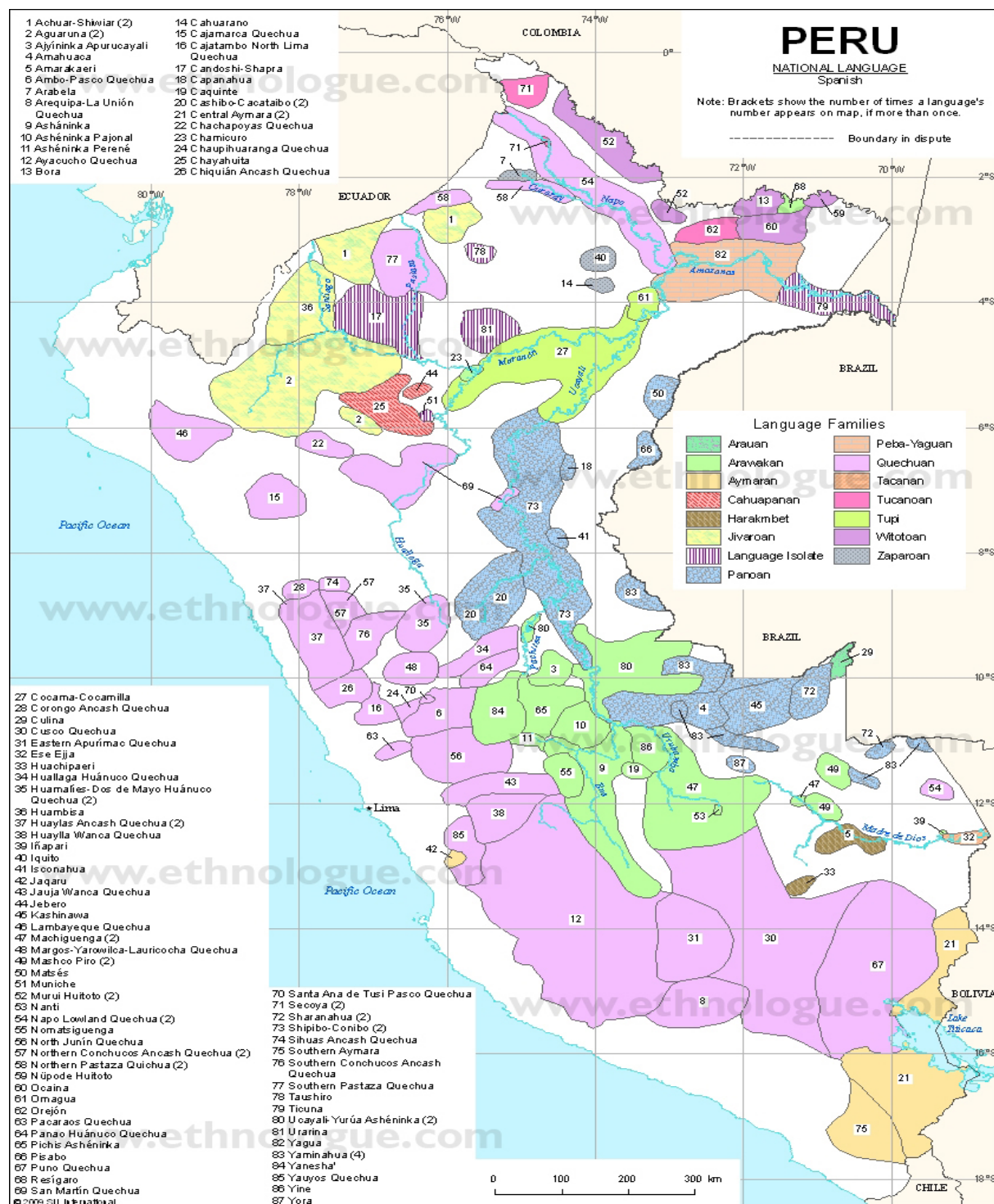


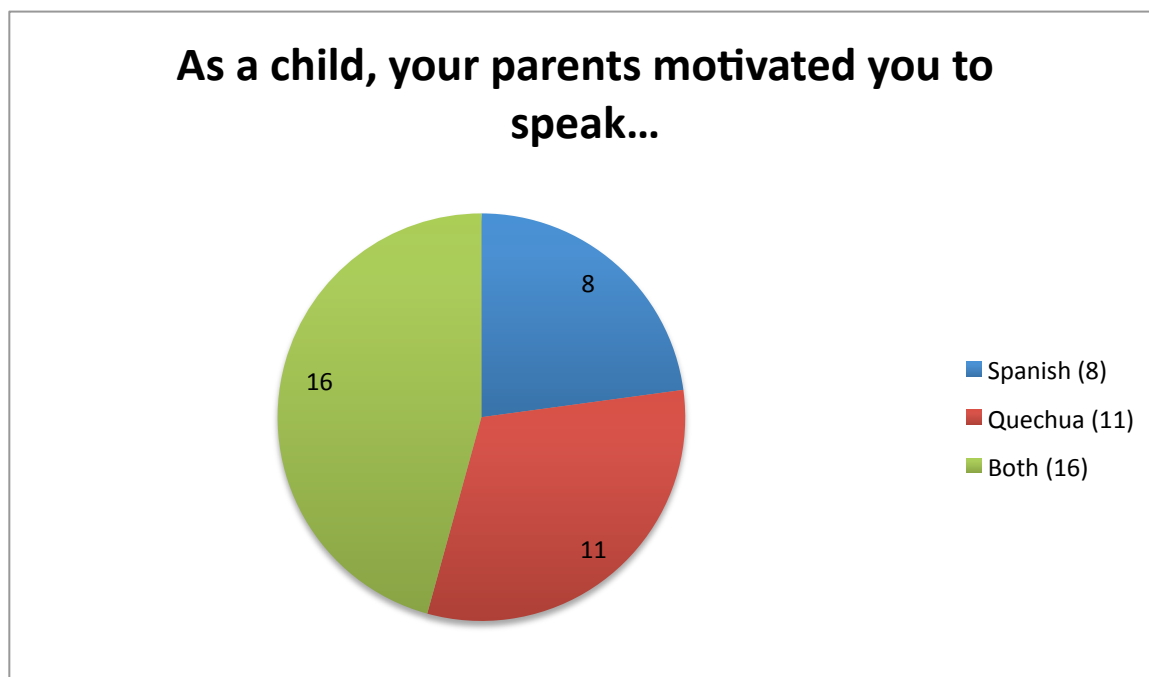
Figure 3b



ii. Language Background

The next set of survey questions inquire about the language background of the participants because these factors might affect how participants view and use Quechua. As is evident by the descriptions of the stages of Fishman's GIDS (2000), educational and familial language use and attitudes can play an important part in determining language use and attitudes of adult respondents. Approximately 46% of respondents (18 people) replied that in the home, their parents encouraged them to speak both Quechua and Spanish. 23% (9) responded that their parents encouraged them to speak only Spanish, and 31% (13) responded that their parents encouraged them to speak Spanish in the home (Figure 4).

Figure 4



Lastly, the participants responded to 3 questions about the domains in which they use Quechua and 3 questions about the advantageousness of speaking Quechua. The questions were analyzed against each other, in order to determine if the respondent's perception of Quechua as advantageous or disadvantageous corresponded to his/her reported actual use. The questions

were then also analyzed with the background and experience information that had been gathered earlier to correlate the responses about background to the responses about attitudes and use.

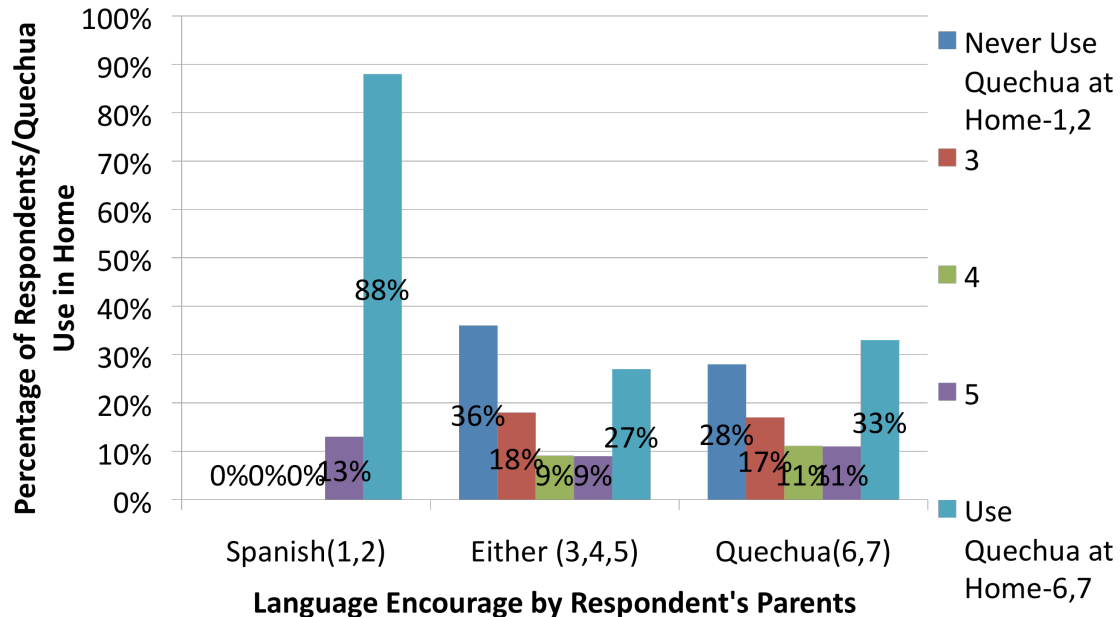
X.Results

i.a. Correlations Between Language in Respondent's Childhood Home and his/her Adult Home Use

The following graph shows the correlations of percentages between which language was encouraged in the home and which language respondents speak in their homes now as adults (Figure 5). Participants were divided into categories based on whether their parents had primarily encouraged Quechua in the home, primarily encouraged Spanish, or encouraged both languages.

Figure 5

Correlation between which language parents encouraged at home as a child and how often the respondent speaks Quechua at home



The participants who noted that their parents encouraged them to speak Spanish in the home as children have the highest rate of use of Quechua in the home as adults. In the group whose family had encouraged Quechua in the home, which consisted of 18 respondents, 50% of respondents indicated that they speak Quechua at a 6 or 7 (Does use Quechua at Home) on the Likert scale. However, another 50% of respondents in this group indicated that they speak Quechua at home with the frequency of 2, or 1 (Never). In the group whose parents encouraged either language, the majority (54% or 6/11 respondents) speak Quechua at home at a frequency of 2 or 1 (Never).

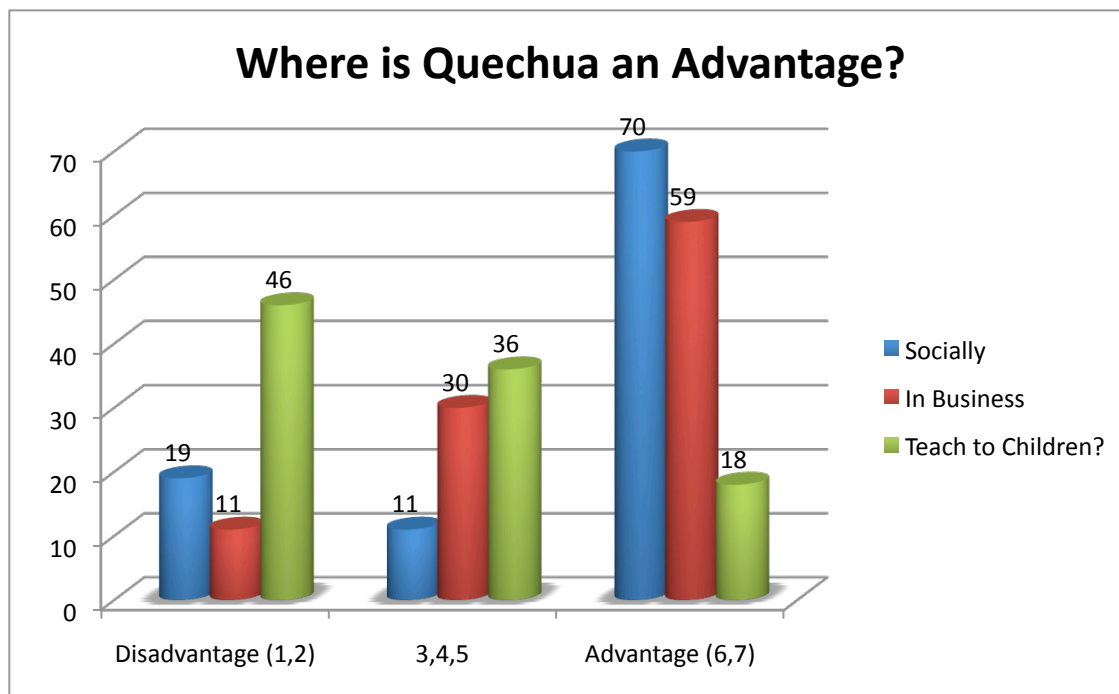
For the purposes of this study, responses of 6 or 7 will be grouped together for simplicity of analysis, as will responses of 1 and 2. As the Likert scales were presented as a scale from 1-7, with 4 being the middle response, responses at either extreme end for all questions (1, or 7 respectively) were rare. Responses at one end closer to the middle however (2 and 6

respectively) occurred with considerably more frequency. This could indicate that participants were unlikely to place themselves at either extreme reflecting the well-documented central tendency bias (Barsalou 1985). It is for this reason this I chose to group 1 and 2 into a single category, and 6 and 7 into another single category.

iib. Correlations Between Quechua as a Perceived Social Advantage, Perceived Business Advantage, and Likelihood of Intergenerational Transmission.

The following graph (Figure 6) represents the responses to the questions about Quechua as a social advantage, a business advantage, and likelihood of intergenerational transmission. It is clear that more respondents (70% or 28 respondents) view the ability to speak Quechua as an advantage socially than as an advantage professionally (59% or 24 respondents). Although many view it as a socially advantage 46%, or 18 respondents also stated that they would definitely not teach Quechua to their children.

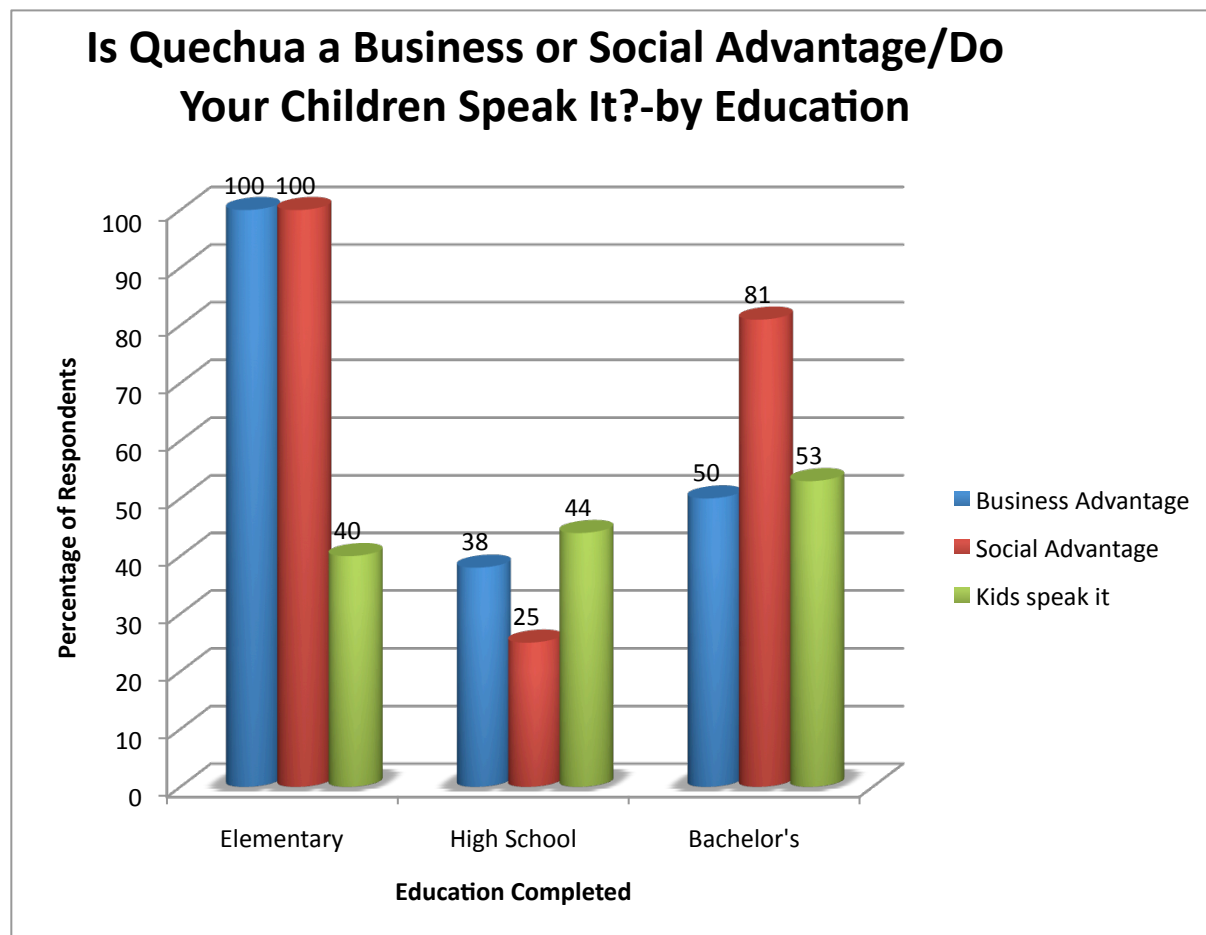
Figure 6



ii. Education and Quechua Use

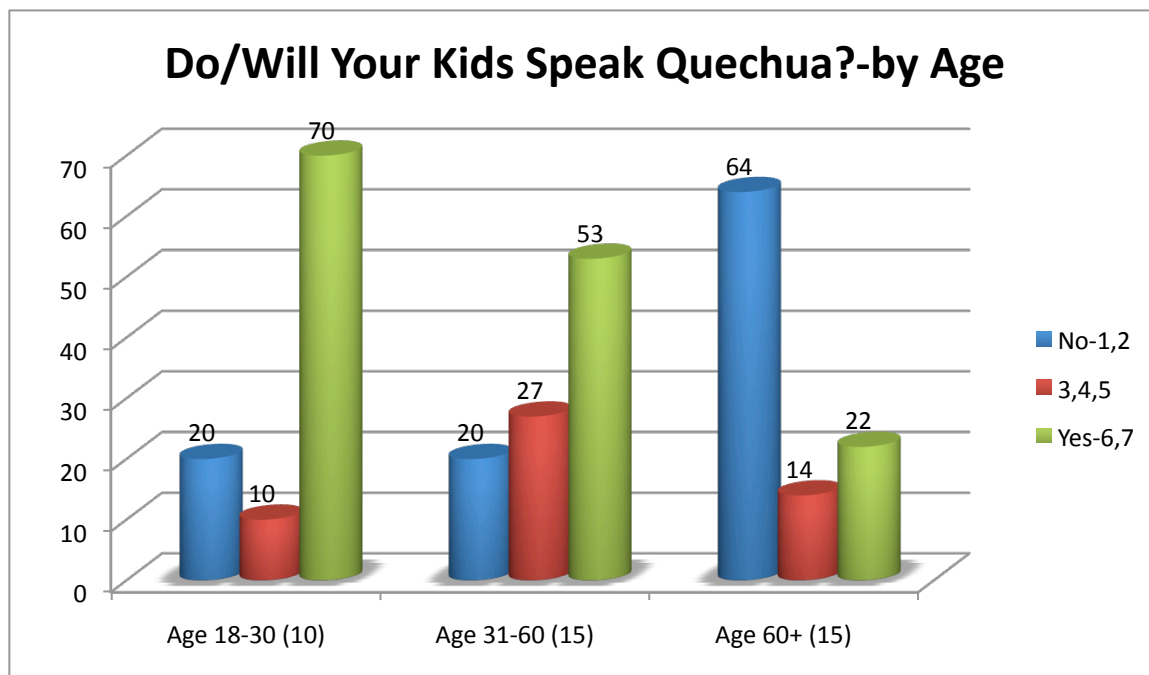
Nearly 100% of respondents with a high school education view the ability to speak Quechua as both a business and social advantage, however only 40% of them would teach Quechua to their children (Figure 7). Of those who have completed a bachelor's degree, 81% view it as a business advantage, and 53% state that they would teach Quechua to their children.

Figure 7



The following graph assesses only the question of intergenerational transmission. Those in the youngest demographic, 18-30, are most likely to teach their children Quechua (70% of that group, or 7 respondents), while those in the 60+ age group are the least likely to do so (22% or 3 respondents). The middle age group, 40-60, does contain a slight majority that would teach their children Quechua (53% or 8 respondents) but this group still falls between the oldest and youngest groups.

Figure 8



iii. Quechua Use in Social Domain

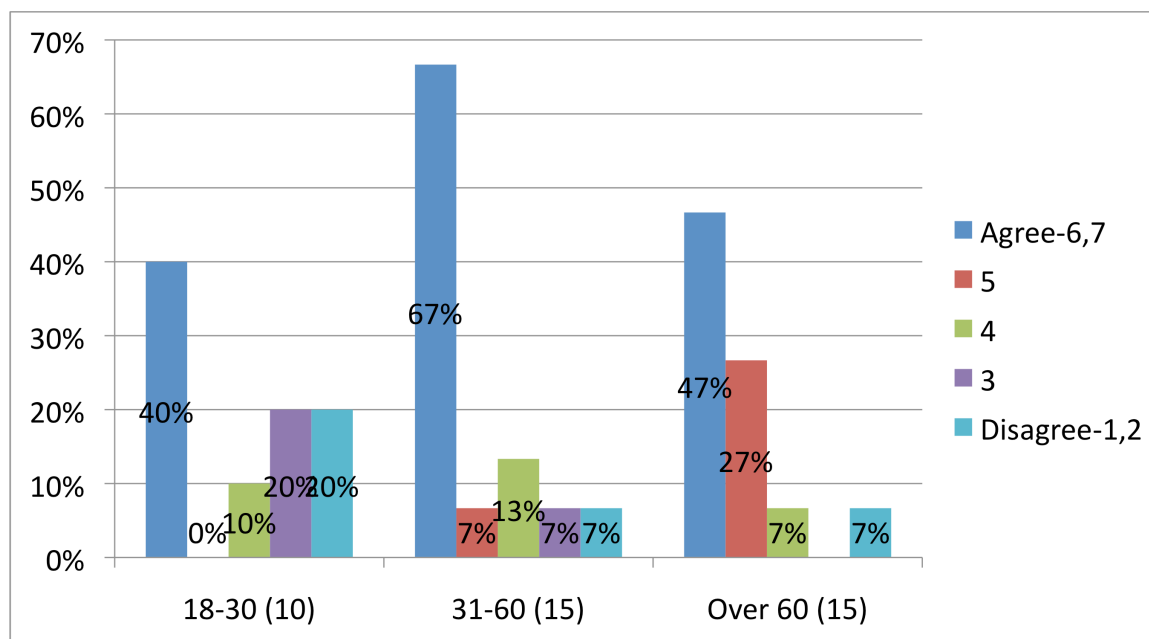
This chart shows the correlation of age to how often the respondent uses Quechua in social situations (Figure 9). It is clear that those in the 18-30 age group use Quechua in social situations with much more frequency than the other age groups, especially more than those

in the 60+ age group. 50% of those 18-30 use Quechua in social situations either 6 or 7 (Often).

In the 60+ age group, only 26% use with a frequency of either 6 or 7 (Often). This is also similar to the data for the 31-60 age group, in which 24% use Quechua either 6 or 7 (Often).

Figure 9

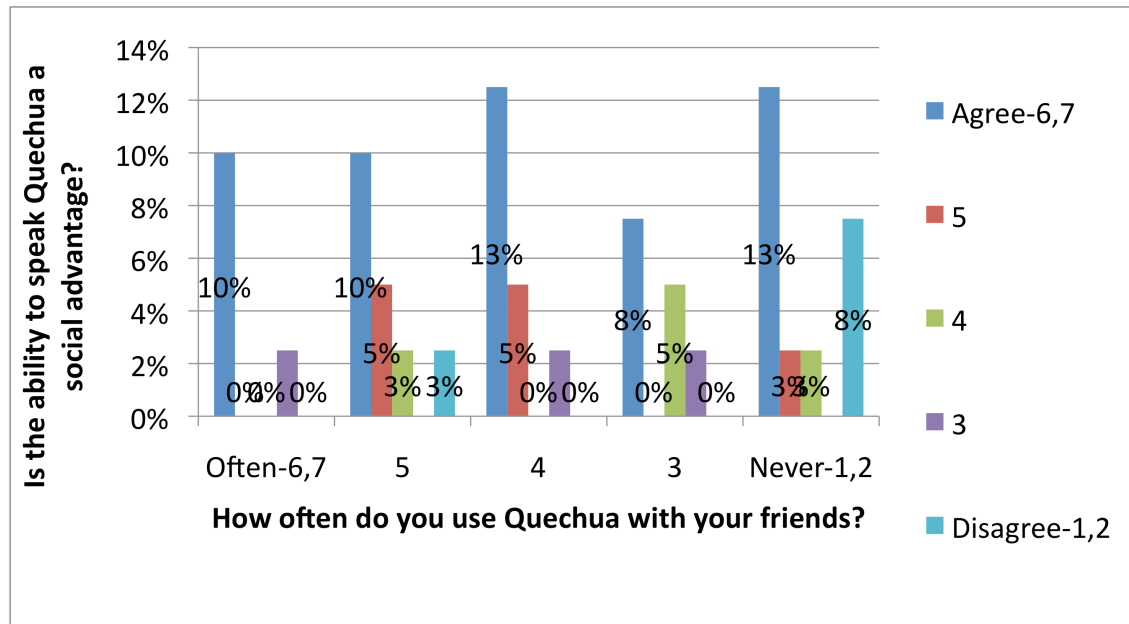
Correlation of Respondent's age to whether use of Quechua in social situations is advantageous



Of those who report using Quechua rarely in social situations, the plurality or 59% agree that Quechua is advantageous in social situations (6 or 7), while only 20% of respondents use it at a 6 or 7 (Often). Additionally, only 10% of those who use it Often (7) responded that they agree strongly (7) it is socially advantageous (Figure 11).

Figure 10

Correlation of Frequency of Quechua use in social situations to whether Quechua use in social situations is advantageous

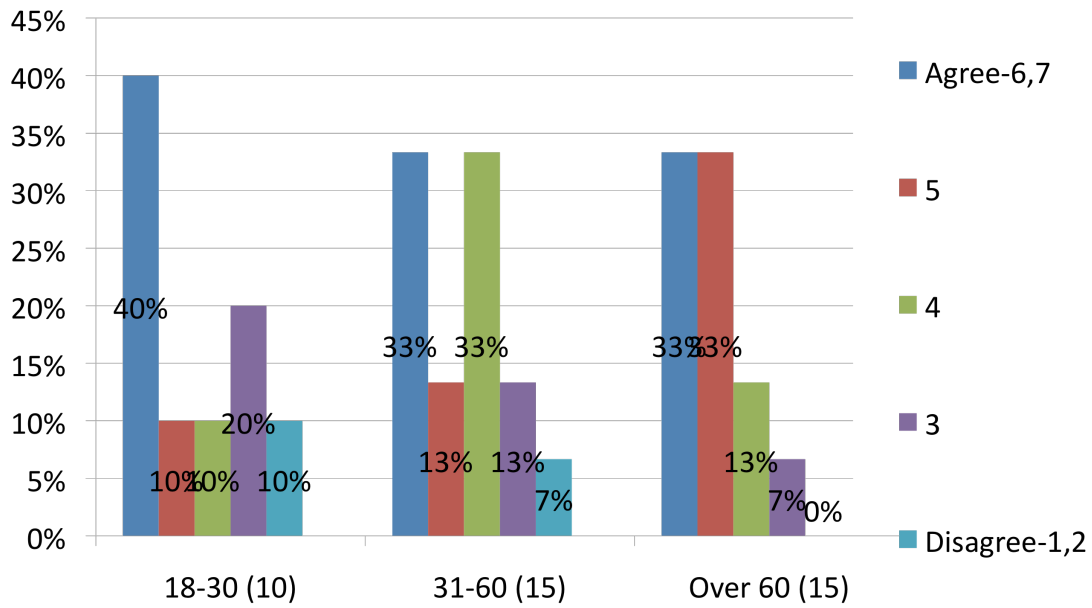


iv. Quechua Use in Professional Domain

Results of the perception and use of Quechua in professional situations parallels the results obtained for social domains (Figure 12). A majority of those in the 18-30 age group (50%) believe that the ability to speak Quechua is either a strong business advantage or a business advantage. Interestingly, although those in the 60+ age group clearly view Quechua as a social disadvantage, 66% of them stated that that they believed that in business, Quechua was either an advantage or a strong advantage. Overall, a majority of all three age groups said that Quechua was a business advantage, whereas only a majority of the only the 31-60 and 60+ age groups agreed that it was a social advantage.

Figure 11

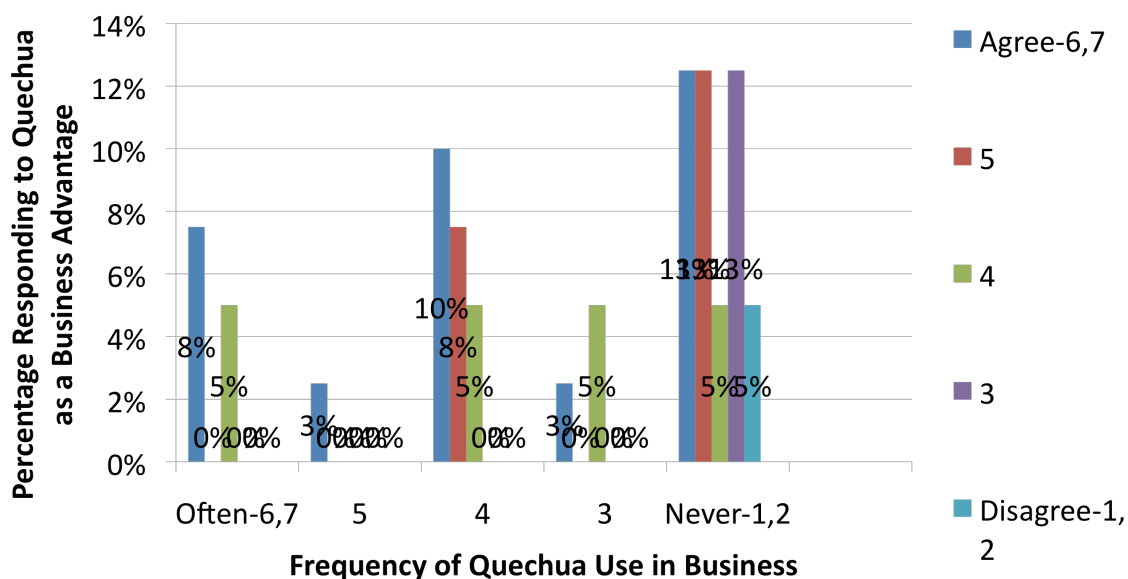
Correlation of Respondent's Age to Whether Quechua is an Advantage in Business



One can see a relatively even distribution of across responses about Quechua use in business, but it is also obvious that the plurality, or 39% of speakers agreed (6 or 7) that Quechua was advantageous in business. Alt 49% stated that they use it in business with a frequency of 2 or 1(Never) This means that a significant number of speakers believe that Quechua is a business advantage but yet do not use it in their daily business interactions, because only 13% stated that they use Quechua often in business.

Figure 12

Correlation of Frequency of Quechua Use in Business to Whether Quechua is an Advantage in Business



X. Discussion

i. The Effect of Language and Social Background/Education on Quechua Use

The results in Figure 5 show an interesting relation between which language was encouraged in the respondent's childhood home and what language the participants chooses to

speak in his or her home now. The participants who noted that their parents encouraged them to speak Spanish in the home as children have the highest rate of use of Quechua in the home as adults. Those who felt strong pressure to speak only Spanish as children may feel that as adults they would like to have the liberty of speaking Quechua in the home, thus explaining why this group speaks more Quechua than Spanish in the home. These results also indicate that given the choice of either or both languages as children, as adults, respondents are more likely to speak Spanish in their homes, perhaps because of the social prestige that Spanish enjoys. This corresponds to what one would expect given Fishman's GIDS (2000) and Labov's work on domains (2003): In order for a language to remain strong, speakers must feel that the language is useful in at least one domain.

In terms of education, those possessing a bachelor's degree are most likely to state that they would teach their children Quechua (51%) and find the ability to speak the language more of a social advantage than a business advantage. This could be because they value Quechua for its historical and social capital rather than simply economically, and thus think it is important that their children speak it to preserve their history or heritage. When asked why she wanted to teach Quechua to her children, one respondent with a Bachelor's degree noted: "Because it is the language of our ancestors, it's our language and as such we should speak it and not be ashamed. And most of all because I love my country and my culture". ("Porque es el idioma de nuestros antepasados, es nuestro idioma y como tal debemos hablarlo y no avergonzarnos, y principalmente porque quiero a mi patria y a mi cultura").

Several more important facts become clear when one considers the educational levels of the respondents and how this may affect their perception of Quechua. Nearly 100% of respondents with a high school education view the ability to speak Quechua as both a business

and social advantage, however only 37% of them would teach Quechua to their children (Figure 7). This fact may reflect the fact that Quechua speakers generally make up the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder; over 79% of Peru's indigenous people live in poverty (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos). Those with less education are more likely to interact with other people of lower socio-economic status, who in Peru tend to not speak Spanish on a daily basis thus making the ability to communicate in Quechua an advantage.

ii. Intergenerational transmission and the GIDS

The question of whether or not respondents would teach Quechua to their children is important because research by Fishman and others shows that intergenerational transmission is an important predictor of language strength. Stage 7 and 8 in the GIDS, the most severe levels of endangerment, occur when there is a breakdown of intergenerational transmission (Fishman 200, 2001). When one analyzes this question by age of respondents, one notes that those in the youngest age group 18-30, who have come of age in a period in which Quechua has enjoyed legal protections are significantly more likely to want to teach their children Quechua (Figures 7 and 8). Those in the oldest demographic are most likely to have older children to whom they have unsuccessfully tried to teach Quechua, or to have a more negative attitude towards the language because of the zeitgeist of the time in which they grew into adulthood. The fact that younger speakers have a more positive attitude towards intergenerational transmission is an indicator that Quechua may be able to remain away from more severe levels of endangerment and even gain strength as the younger population transmits the language to their offspring.

iii. Perceptions of Advantageousness as Compared with Reported Use-Social Domain

From figure 8, one might expect that the 18-30 age group would respond more favorably to Quechua being an advantage in social situations than any other age group. Figure 9 shows that

indeed, 40% of the 18-30 age group do view Quechua as an advantage, but so do 67 of the 31-60 group and 47% of the 60+ group. Although a plurality of all 3 age groups view Quechua as socially advantageous, this does not mean that a majority of speakers in all groups report actual use of Quechua.

There seems to be a schism between perception of Quechua as socially advantageous and actual use of the language in social situations. This is an unexpected finding, but it may be an indicator that Quechua is beginning to regain some social strength because it is perceived as useful in at least one domain. Even if speakers do not report that they use Quechua in this domain, they are acutely aware that it has social benefits, which could encourage speakers to begin speaking it more to be more likely transmit Quechua to younger generations. Of those who report using Quechua rarely in social situations, the plurality or 59% agree that Quechua is strongly advantageous or advantageous in social situations, while only 20% of respondents use it often or very often. Additionally, only 10% of those who use it extremely often agree strongly that it is socially advantageous (Figure 11).

iv. Perceptions of Advantageousness as Compared with Reported Use-Business Domain

Results of the perception and use of Quechua in professional situations parallels the results obtained for social domains (Figure 12). A majority of those in the 18-30 age group (50%) believe that the ability to speak Quechua is either a strong business advantage or a business advantage. Interestingly, although those in the 60+ age group clearly view Quechua as a social disadvantage, 66% of them stated that that they believed that in business, Quechua was either an advantage or a strong advantage. Overall, a majority of all three age groups said that Quechua was a business advantage, whereas only a majority of the only the 31-60 and 60+ age groups agreed that it was a social advantage. Thus far it has seemed that the 18-30 age group has

responded most favorably towards the use of Quechua in social situations and for their children, but this shows that the 31-60 age group still has a domain in which they perceive Quechua as useful. According to the work done by Labov (2003), the fact that this group still views it as advantageous in business is one factor that will aid in preventing Quechua from falling out of use.

As was apparent in the graph that shows the correlation between use of Quechua in social situations and perception of the language as advantageous in social situations, there exists a sharp difference between perception of Quechua as advantageous and actual use of the language (Figure 13). One can see a relatively even distribution of across responses about Quechua use in business, but it is also obvious that over 50% of speakers strongly agreed that Quechua was advantageous in business. This means that a significant number of speakers believe that Quechua is a business advantage but yet do not use it in their daily business interactions.

XI. Conclusions

Although native Quechua/Spanish bilinguals who have migrated from rural centers to urban centers generally see the ability to speak Quechua as both a social and professional advantage, they are unlikely to report using Quechua with any consistent level of frequency in either their home or professional lives. This may be due to underreporting, or it is possible that the language is presently undergoing a shift in which speakers are beginning to value Quechua but may not have begun personally using it frequently.

Quechua speakers aged 31-60 are most likely perceive the ability to speak Quechua as a social advantage, while speakers aged 60+ are most likely to perceive it as a professional advantage. Those in the youngest age group, aged 18-30 are most likely to use Quechua across all studied domains and to want to teach their children Quechua. This youngest age group,

according to Fishman's GIDS (2000,2001) is highly important because they will continue the intergenerational transmission that will prevent the language from becoming highly endangered. Future work would likely explore these findings with more participants from this age group to confirm these conclusions.

According to Fishman's (1990) and Labov (2003), intergenerational transmission and use by younger generations of native speakers are important factors that contribute to the strength of a language. The results obtained here provide an important starting point for further research into the use of Quechua by bilinguals in the 18-30 age group to determine if Quechua will be strong in Peru in the future.

Finally, it is important to note that political and social movements of Peru are likely partially responsible for these results. According to Hornberger and King (2001) and Fishman (2001), the sociopolitical climate in which a language exists can have an important effect on its preservation or endangerment. Those respondents in the youngest age group were small children, or not yet born, when the Peruvian Constitution of 1993 declared Quechua an official language. This fact might influence their opinions towards Quechua because they have come of age and attended school during the first modern era in which Quechua has legal protections. This data thus shows that if the government of Peru and Quechua speakers both continue to support and protect Quechua throughout the rapidly occurring the urban and global changes, Quechua has the opportunity to remain strong in Peru. As one respondent observed about the public perception those who speak Quechua in Peru, "One that speaks Quechua is one who obeys, who has neither voice nor authority. But with the passing of time these opinions are changing" ("El que habla quéchua es el que obedece, el que no tiene voz ni autoridad, etc. Pero con el transcurrir del tiempo estas opiniones ya están cambiando").

Future work is necessary to further support these conclusions. A larger sample set with more diverse educational and social background would be important to gain a more precise idea of the factors that affect how bilingual Quechua/Spanish speakers in Peru choose to use Quechua. It would also be useful to repeat this study with a larger sample of the 18-30 age group to confirm that this group generally views Quechua as more advantageous than do other age groups. Additionally, a similar study conducted in another Quechua speaking country with a different political climate, such as Ecuador or Bolivia, would strengthen the hypothesis that differences in response due to age are a result of political and social factors.

Appendix A

Survey

1. What is your gender?
2. Please list all of the languages that you speak and indicate your level of fluency in each one (Native, Superior, Intermediate, Beginner)

3. What is your level of education?

Primary School
 Secondary School
 Some College
 Bachelor's Degree
 Master's Degree
 Doctorate

4. Please list all places in which you have lived for longer than one year

5. What is your age?

6. Where are you from?

7. Are your parents bilingual?

Yes No

In which languages? _____

8. On a scale of 1-7, how would you rate your level of fluency in Spanish?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Beginner						Native

9. On a scale of 1-7, how would you rate your level of fluency in Quechua?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Beginner						Native

10. At approximately what age did you begin learning Spanish?

11. At approximately what age did you begin learning Quechua?

12. When you were a child, did your parents encourage you to speak one language more than the other?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Encouraged Spanish					Strongly Encouraged Quechua	

13. What language were your elementary classes conducted in?

14. What language/s do you believe elementary classes should be conducted in?

15. How often do you speak Quechua in your home?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never					Daily	

16. How often do you speak Quechua with your friends?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never					Often	

17. Approximately what percentage of your social group speaks primarily Spanish? Quechua? Both?

18. How often do you use Quechua in business/academic life?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never					Often	

19. Do you believe that speaking Quechua is a disadvantage or an advantage socially?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disadvantage					Advantage	

20. Do you believe that speaking Quechua is a disadvantage or an advantage academically?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disadvantage					Advantage	

21. Why?

22. Do you plan to teach Quechua to your children?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Definitely			Definitely Not			

23. Why?

24. What, if any, social attitudes exist about Spanish speakers in general

25. What, if any, social attitudes exist about Quechua speakers in general?

Encuesta

1. ¿Cuál es su género? M F
2. Por favor, haga una lista de los idiomas que Ud. habla e indique su nivel de fluencia en cada uno (Nativo, Superior, Intermedio, o Principiante):
3. ¿Cuál es su nivel de educación?
Escuela Primaria, Escuela Secundaria, Asistencia en Universidad, Licenciatura en Universidad, Grado de Maestría, Doctorado
4. Por favor, haga una lista de todos los lugares en que Ud. ha vivido por en rato mas largo que un año:
5. ¿Cuántos años tiene Ud.?
6. ¿De dónde es Ud.?
7. ¿Son sus padres bilingües?
Sí No
¿En cuáles idiomas? _____
8. ¿En una escala de 1-7, qué tan fuerte es su español?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Principiante Nativo
9. ¿En una escala de 1-7, qué tan fuerte es su quechua?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Principiante

Nativo

10. ¿Cuántos años tenía cuando empezó a aprender el español?
11. ¿Cuántos años tenía cuando empezó a aprender el quechua?
12. ¿Cuando era niño/a, sus padres le animaban a hablar en algún idioma en particular?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Anima al español

Anima al quechua

13. ¿En qué idioma se daban sus clases de la escuela primaria
14. ¿En qué idioma cree Ud. que se debe enseñar las clases de escuela primaria?

15. ¿Con cuanta frecuencia habla Ud. el quechua en su casa?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Nunca

Cada Día

16. ¿Con cuanta frecuencia habla Ud. el quechua con sus amigos?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Nunca

Cada Día

17. ¿Aproximadamente qué porcentaje de sus amigos hablan el español? ¿El quechua? ¿Los dos?

18. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia habla Ud. el quechua en sus negocios o académicas?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Nunca

Cada Día

19. ¿Cree que la habilidad de hablar el quechua sea ventaja o desventaja en la vida social?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Desventaja

Ventaja

20. ¿Cree que la habilidad de hablar el quechua se ventaja o desventaja en los negocios o en los estudios?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Desventaja

Ventaja

21. ¿Por qué?

22. ¿Tienes planes para enseñarles a sus niños el quechua?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Definitivamente No

Definitivamente

23. ¿Por qué?

24. ¿Existen algunas actitudes sociales sobre los que hablan el español? ¿Cuáles son esas actitudes?

25. ¿Existen algunas actitudes sociales sobre los que hablan el quechua? ¿Cuáles son esas actitudes?

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